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Anti-Slavery Jubilee Fund

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55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

Anti-Slavery Jubilee

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

WILL BE CELEBRATED BY A MEETING To be held in the Guildhall

ON THE AFTERNOON OF AUGUST 1st, UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF H.R.H. the PRINCE of WALES

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS WILL BE SUPPORTED BY

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR, M.P.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G.
HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MANNING.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G. (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G. (Secretary of State for the Colonies).
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL CAIRNS.
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BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

ANTI-SLAVERY JUBILEE, AUGUST 1st, 1884.

THE following short *résumé* of the Anti-Slavery work of the last fifty years was drawn up by the Secretary of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.* It is now reprinted from the July number of *Leisure Hour*, by kind permission of the Editors, for presentation at the JUBILEE MEETING, to be held at the GUILDHALL, on August 1st, 1884, under the presidency of HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

(From *Leisure Hour*.)

THE close of this month brings us to a memorable date in English history. On the 1st of August, 1834, an Act of the Legislature came into force which formed the first great step in the emancipation of Slaves in the British colonies. This present year may therefore be considered the Jubilee year of this great Anti-Slavery victory, and we may profitably use the occasion to glance, not only at the progress made, but at the work which yet remains to be done towards the extinction of Slavery.

It would be a hopeless task to endeavour to make the present generation realise the horrors that were enacted, not only under the British flag, but with the sanction of Parliament, little more than fifty years ago.

Principally owing to the indefatigable exertions of the undaunted Thomas Clarkson, and his great parliamentary coadjutor, William Wilberforce, the Slave-trade and the untold horrors of the Middle Passage were, so far as Great Britain was concerned, put an end to in 1807. The majority, therefore, of the Slaves in the West India Islands who received the benefit of the Emancipation Act were descendants of those Africans who had been originally torn from their distant homes, though not a few aged Slaves who received their freedom from England could well remember the scenes of their childhood amid the forests of Africa. Notwithstanding the powerful *physique* and the tenacity of life exhibited

* Society's Offices : 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

by the black race, it was shown by Mr. Buxton that, owing to the frightful cruelties perpetrated by the Slave-owners, the black population in the West Indies declined, after the cessation of fresh importations from Africa in 1807, to the extent of a hundred thousand between that date and the carrying out of emancipation, and this notwithstanding the numbers known to have been smuggled into the islands.

After the year 1834 the law of nature resumed its force, and the black population increased in twelve years more than fifty-four thousand in fourteen of the islands.

BEFORE EMANCIPATION.

In looking through the lamentable history of those times, published by the Anti-Slavery Society, it is impossible to prevent a feeling of nausea and disgust. I will therefore only refer to one pamphlet, published in 1833, by Mr. Henry Whiteley, under the title, "Three Months in Jamaica in 1832." This little publication had an enormous sale, and did much to rouse the British nation to a sense of the enormities daily committed in her distant colonies. Mr. Whiteley went out to Jamaica with the intention of residing in a business capacity on a sugar plantation. He says that he was one of those who did not believe in the horrors of Slavery, and thought that our factory children in England were far worse off than any plantation Slaves. He was soon most painfully undeceived. Proceeding on horseback to the estate soon after his arrival, and enjoying the exquisite tropical scenery, he came upon a gang of negroes at work, most of them females. As he rode past the driver cracked his tremendous whip, shouting out, "Work, work!" and from that moment the enchanting scenery and the beautiful humming-birds of Jamaica had no longer any charm for him. The first evening of his arrival at the plantation the overseer gave the command, "Blow shell!" A large shell was blown, and four athletic negro drivers appeared, bringing in six Slaves. For some slight defect in the tally of the day's work these men had to be flogged. The flogging of the whole of the men is described in terms too painful now to repeat; but worst of all is the account given of similar punishments inflicted upon women, some of them quite young girls. Mr. Whiteley naturally took pains to inquire whether this kind of treatment was general upon plantations, and he came to the conclusion that it was next to impossible to find a Slave, either male or female, who had not been flogged. But this was only one and the most ordinary form of punishment; the stocks and contrivances for hanging negroes by their thumbs, wrists, etc., were only too common, whilst hundreds were killed outright. The picture presented by the British West India colonies half a century ago is certainly too revolting to contemplate at the present day, and to us now it appears almost incredible.

AUGUST 1st, 1834.

Although it is well to bury in oblivion the shame with which good men chronicled the wickedness and tyranny that supported the Slave system, it is refreshing to record the feelings of joy and gratitude with which Mr. Buxton and his friends received the accounts of "the admirable conduct of the negroes on the great day of freedom." Mr. Buxton says: "Throughout the colonies the churches and chapels had been thrown open, and the Slaves had crowded into them on the evening of the 31st of July, 1834. As the hour of midnight approached they fell upon their knees, and awaited the solemn moment all hushed in silent prayer. When twelve o'clock sounded from the chapel bells, they sprang upon their feet, and through every island rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the Father of all, for the chains were broken, and the Slaves were free."

ANTI-SLAVERY WORK SINCE 1834.

Let us now glance at the reverse and brighter side of the medal, and see what England has since accomplished in carrying out emancipation in different parts of the world.

Real freedom took place in the British possessions in the year 1838, when the apprenticeship system, which was found to be only an intolerable compromise, was abolished.

The price paid by the nation for the emancipation of the three-quarters of a million Slaves held by her subjects was £20,000,000 sterling. A general idea now prevails that England, having paid this large sum, and washed her hands from the stains of bloodguiltiness with which they were so long befouled, has now little or nothing further to do in the cause of abolition. A little reflection, however, will show that a nation whose high distinction it is to stand in the vanguard of civilisation and Christian progress cannot shut herself up within the walls that form the narrow boundary of her island and neglect the duties to which, in the providence of God, she has been called. These duties, with respect to Africa, she has in many ways nobly carried out, especially on the West Coast, where the foreign Slave-trade has been entirely put down owing to her intervention, though much yet remains to be done throughout the whole of Eastern Africa.

INDIA

It may not be generally known that Slavery was abolished in INDIA in 1843 by the simple passing of an Act destroying its legal status. As the freeman and the Slave thus stood upon the same footing before the law, the natural result took place, and millions of Slaves gradually procured their own freedom without any sudden dislocation of the rights claimed by their masters. A plan similar to this would probably be found the most effectual one in Egypt and other Mohammedan countries.

AFRICA.

This example was followed by Lord Carnarvon in 1874 on the GOLD COAST of Western Africa, and he was able to abolish Slavery there without any serious interference with the habits and customs of the people.

Under the influence of England the Bey of TUNIS issued a decree in 1846 abolishing Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout his dominions, which concluded in the following simple and forcible terms:—

“Know, that all Slaves that shall touch our territory, by sea or by land, shall become free.”

FRANCE.

The example set by England has been nobly followed by many of the great Powers of Europe.

In 1848 the Republic of FRANCE, under the guidance of the veteran abolitionist M. Victor Schœlcher and his colleagues, passed a short Act abolishing Slavery throughout the French dominions:

“La Republique Française n'admet plus d'esclaves sur le territoire Français.”

RUSSIA.

The emancipation of 20,000,000 of serfs in 1861 by the late Czar of RUSSIA must not pass unchronicled in a review of the history of emancipation, although, strictly speaking, this form of Slavery can scarcely be classed with that resulting from the African Slave-trade

UNITED STATES.

In 1865 the fetters of 6,000,000 of Slaves in the SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA were melted in the hot fires of the most ruthless civil war of modern times. It must not be forgotten that the introduction of Slaves from Africa into America was commenced by England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was continued without intermission up to the year 1807.

It was believed throughout the South that emancipation would result in the utter ruin of the planting States, as it was insisted that Slave labour was essential to the production of cotton, sugar, and rice crops. So far was this prediction from being verified that Mr. Hilliard, minister for the United States in Brazil, in an eloquent letter addressed to Senhor Joaquim Nabuco, president of the Brazil Anti-Slavery Society, was able to write as follows:—

“But in the order of Providence all these clouds that threw their portentous shadows across the heaven of the future have disappeared. Galileo was right when he said, ‘The world moves.’ Never were the States of the South so prosperous as they are to-day. Never were the relations between the white and coloured races so good as they are under the new conditions

of life in the South. . . . The largest cotton crop ever made in the South, estimated at 6,000,000 bales, has been produced this year, chiefly by the labour of freedmen."

CUBA.

CUBA was for centuries a hotbed of Slavery, and one of the largest importers of "black ivory"; and Spain has the unenviable distinction of being the only "civilised" power in Europe that has not put down Slavery in her dominions, for even Portugal, her nearest neighbour, passed a decree in 1874 for the emancipation of the Slaves in her trans-marine territories. That this law has been, and is, systematically evaded, is, however, only too true.

In 1870 Spain passed an Act called the "Moret Law," by which gradual emancipation was introduced into Cuba. The first and principal article enacted that "All children of Slave mothers born after the publication of this law are declared free." The law appears to have worked with some effect, as in a despatch from the Acting Consul-General of Great Britain in Cuba in August, 1882, the number of negro Slaves in Cuba at that time is estimated at about 130,000, whereas in 1867 the register showed over 400,000. But all estimates as to numbers in Cuba must be taken with great reserve, owing to the extreme difficulty in obtaining correct information. Moreover, representations recently made to the Spanish Government allege that many negroes are illegally detained in servitude, and that some of the worst abuses still exist.

Cuba, as is well known, has been the scene of numerous insurrections and filibustering movements, which may be all more or less attributed to the pernicious system of Slavery.

BRAZIL, &c.

Passing on to SOUTH AMERICA, it may be noted with satisfaction that all of the small Republics, formerly under the rule of Spain, put an end to Slavery at the time that they threw off the yoke of the mother country.

The great empire of BRAZIL has alone retained the curse which she inherited from her Portuguese rulers.

At the present moment she possesses nearly a million and a half of Slaves on her vast plantations, many of whom lead a life worse than that of beasts of burden. Brazil continued the Slave-trade from the west coast of Africa long after the treaty with England by which she was bound to abolish it, and there can be little doubt that many of the Slaves now wasting their lives in the hard bondage of plantation labour have been imported since the signing of the treaty, *and are consequently held in illegal bondage*. It is pleasing to note that a strong abolition movement has lately taken place in Brazil, resulting in the freedom of many thousands of Slaves. That great empire is divided into numerous provinces, each of

which appears to possess more or less the privilege of local government, and a great move in the path of progress has lately been made by the large province of Céara, which has achieved the proud distinction of becoming the first free soil in Brazil, Céara having within the last few months emancipated the whole of her Slave population.

"THE DARK CONTINENT."

Let us now turn to contemplate the "unhappy hunting-grounds" of the world—the boundless bloodstained territories of the "DARK CONTINENT."

It would, perhaps, scarcely be just to say that if there were no Africa there would be no Slavery, since from the earliest time history bears record that captives taken in war have been made the Slaves of their captors. Moreover, it is pretty certain that there are now in CHINA alone more Slaves than are contained in the rest of the world; and these are certainly not Africans. An American consul who had long resided in China lately made a calculation showing that there could not be less than 50,000,000 Slaves in that great empire. Still, it is from Africa that the large supplies for the Mohammedan world are chiefly drawn.

The whole of the WEST COAST OF AFRICA is now nominally free from the curse of the Slave-trade, though Slavery still exists amongst all the native tribes, and in the Portuguese settlements forced labour is carried on under *indenture*, which is a form little removed from that of actual Slavery.

Free settlements, such as LIBERIA, SIERRA LEONE, etc., have progressed considerably under the influence of commerce and free labour, and this progression would have been much more rapid were it not for the stigma that attaches to labour in all countries where Slavery has been a permanent institution.

MADAGASCAR.

On the east coast of Africa the great island of MADAGASCAR, although still the abode of domestic Slavery, has cleared itself from the reproach of the Slave-trade. The importation of Slaves from Africa was put an end to by the enlightened Christian Queen, lately deceased, Ranavalonamanjaka II., in the year 1877.

MOZAMBIQUE.

With regard to the Portuguese territories in Africa (MOZAMBIQUE, etc.), it is difficult to speak with precision. The authorities declare that no Slave-trade exists, but the evidence of English officials and missionaries in Eastern Africa throws considerable doubt upon that statement. Certain it is that thousands of Slaves are exported annually to the Comoro and other sugar-producing islands in Mozambique waters, and various means are employed, by issuing fictitious papers of freedom, and in other ways, to avoid capture by Her Majesty's cruisers. The abuse of the use of the French flag, and the

impossibility of searching vessels that display those colours, has led to a large increase in the smuggling of Slaves in East African waters. The lamentable death of Captain Brownrigge, still fresh in all our memories, was due to the facile manner in which the French flag can be obtained by almost any rascally Arab trader, who then claims exemption from the right of search.

ZANZIBAR.

ZANZIBAR, alone of all the Arab powers on the east coast of Africa, has cleared herself from the stigma of the Slave-trade. The mission of Sir BARTLE FRERE in 1873 paved the way for this important movement, which was completed by the treaty between England and the Sultan, obtained after innumerable difficulties through the firmness, tact, and unremitting exertions of Her Majesty's Consul-General, Sir JOHN KIRK, K.C.M.G. Slavery still exists in Zanzibar, but owing to the cessation of the nefarious traffic in human beings a very marked increase in the prosperity of the people has taken place. A letter written some time ago by the Banian (British Indian) residents to Sir JOHN KIRK, and published by the Anti-Slavery Society, expresses the warm thanks of that industrious people for his firmness in allowing no vestige of Slaveholding to exist among them, as this had proved to be the means of turning capital into legitimate channels, and opening up many new sources of wealth. So far from being impoverished, as they had feared, by the compulsory emancipation of their Slaves, *without compensation*, these Banian Indians are now comparatively wealthy, and live in nicely-built stone houses instead of huts, and are often able to leave small fortunes to their children.

CENTRAL AFRICA AND EGYPT.

It would be impossible within the limits of this paper to give more than the barest outline of the Anti-Slavery efforts of England in CENTRAL AFRICA, unhappily at present so little crowned with success. Within a comparatively few years the untiring devotion and painfully wearisome journeys of the noble-hearted Livingstone, supplemented by the efforts of a band of heroes, including explorers and missionaries, have filled up the blank which for so many centuries existed in the map of Africa. Besides the discovery of vast inland seas, and the tracing of great rivers, including some 3,000 miles of navigable water on the Congo, the haunts of the piratical Slave-hunters have been revealed, and the deadly trail of the Slave caravan has been tracked into the very heart of the continent. There seems little reason to doubt that the estimate made by LIVINGSTONE, and confirmed by many other travellers,

that at least half a million human lives are annually sacrificed in Africa, owing to the Slave-trade, is in no way exaggerated, and that up to the present moment but little diminution has taken place in the flow of this fatal stream. So much has been lately written on the subject by GORDON, SCHWEINFURTH, BURTON, BAKER, WILSON, FELKIN, JANSON, MAPLES, and others, that it will be sufficient here to state that the great sources of demand for the apparently inexhaustible supply of human victims are the Mohammedan countries of Arabia, Persia, Egypt, and Turkey.

We all know pretty well something of the horrors of the NILE route, and of the overland desert journey strewn with skeletons and skulls, so vividly described in General Gordon's letters. What is not quite so well known is the existence at the southernmost point of the Red Sea of a Slave-trading patriarch, named ABOU BEKR, who, with his fifty sons, commands the human traffic from the countries spreading from Abyssinia to the Victoria Nyanza! A French traveller, lately describing a visit to this nest of pirates, from whom he barely escaped with his life, states that caravans are constantly arriving by roads known only to the Slave-dealers, and are mainly composed of young people of both sexes, destined for the harems of Egypt and Turkey. In large caravanserais belonging to Abou Bekr, the reprobate Governor of Zeilah, the girls are fattened, and the boys prepared for their future service, until they are considered fit for transport to their ultimate destination. On dark nights these unfortunate creatures are smuggled to the creeks of the Red Sea coast, embarked on swift-sailing craft, and speedily landed on the Arabian shore. A secret service of corresponding agents forwards these young victims to Constantinople and other cities where there is a demand.

SLAVE ROUTES.

There are many routes by which the thousands of Slaves annually required for the Egyptian market are taken to that country. Owing to late disorders many of these routes have been changed; indeed, Gordon himself sorrowfully confessed that when he closed one route another and a more painful one was opened. The great work carried on by Gordon and Gessi in the Soudan was systematically frustrated when Gordon left and Gessi had fallen a victim to the plots of the native pashas and Slave-traders. The rebellion, which Gordon and Gessi had crushed, speedily broke out again, and, assuming a religious and fanatical character, under the leadership of the so-called Mahdi, it grew to the proportions it has now assumed, and which may before long tax the "resources of civilisation." The fact has been too much lost sight of that this Mahdi rebellion was originally a Slave-traders' revolt, and not a religious war, nor was it in any way connected with the proceedings of Arabi and the National party. It will be a lamentable thing if the influence now exercised by England in

the affairs of Egypt does not result in some well-considered and practicable scheme of abolition, after the plan so successfully carried out in India.

MOROCCO.

The empire of MOROCCO, though comparatively close to England, is still disgraced by open Slave-markets, and the public sales of Slaves in the streets of all her chief towns. It is only lately that the attention of the British public has been called to this state of things; but this having been once aroused, it is probable that some steps will be taken to mitigate, if not prevent, the extent of this evil.

WORK TO BE DONE.

There is a great deal yet to be done in almost every quarter of the world before England can give up the glorious campaign against Slavery upon which she entered half a century ago, nor can the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY afford to relax the efforts it has so long and so successfully carried on. Although the founders and early champions of that society have passed from the sphere of this world's labours, their successors may well say, in the eloquent words lately addressed to the veteran Abolitionist, VICTOR SCHÆLCHER, on the 31st anniversary of the abolition of Slavery in France :—

"It remains for us to carry on to its completion the idea of emancipation, by causing it to produce all the results of which it contains the germ. What was said by the poet Lucretius of the ancient runners who snatched the flaming torch from those whom they passed in the race, in order to light up their own path, may equally be said of this generation of men: for we must take this civilising torch of freedom from the hands of those who have borne it, and who have been our forerunners in the race; and we must carry it onward until concord and universal sympathy prevail between man and man, irrespective of race or colour."

July 1st, 1884.

CHARLES H. ALLEN.

The chief object of the JUBILEE MEETING is to endeavour to rekindle the enthusiasm of England and to assist her to carry on this "civilising torch of freedom," until its beneficent light shall be shed abroad over all the earth.

The generation formerly so active in the cause of Abolition has almost passed away, and the interest, once so general in England,

has well-nigh died out, though the work of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY is still far from being completed. "*The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few.*"

The support freely given in past years to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has gradually grown less and less, and there is great danger of its efforts becoming seriously crippled.

An earnest appeal is now made to all friends of human freedom to rally round this old Society by now giving it that annual support without which it will be impossible to continue its beneficent work.

It is hoped that the accompanying Form may be filled up and forwarded to the SECRETARY, at 55, NEW BROAD STREET, E.C.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

That the objects of this Society be :—The Universal Extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade, and the Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Enfranchised Population in the British Possessions and of all Persons captured as Slaves.

That the following shall be the fundamental principles of the Society :—

That so long as Slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings ; that the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character* ; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society :—

To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the Slave-trade and Slavery ; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of Slave-holding countries, not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour ; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation, &c., &c.

For particulars of the Society's work apply to the Secretary, Mr. C. H. ALLEN, 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

Parliamentary.

THE CONGO TREATY.

House of Commons, June 26th, 1884.

Sir H. MAXWELL asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he could now give the House any information as to the present state of negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and that of the King of Portugal relative to the Congo river territory.

Lord E. FITZMAURICE: I have already stated in the House that on March 15th and June 1st, 1883, Lord Granville informed the Portuguese Government that the Anglo-Portuguese agreement, if not accepted by the other powers principally interested, would be futile, and that in consequence negotiations had commenced in order to ascertain the views of those powers. Her Majesty's Government has now arrived at the conclusion that the objections taken by some of the powers to certain portions of the treaty are of too serious a character to leave any hope of the treaty being accepted as a whole (Opposition cheers), and they have therefore informed the Portuguese Government that a ratification of the treaty would be useless. It is, however, the hope of Her Majesty's Government to maintain that portion of the treaty which relates to the River Commission, and, as originally proposed by them, to give it an international character. The powers it would have possessed under the treaty were practically identical with those of the Danube Commission, from which it only differed in the composition of the controlling authority. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'DONNELL asked if the only difference was that the old proposal was an Anglo-Portuguese Commission, while the new one was of an international character.

Lord E. FITZMAURICE said that was so.

Sir H. MAXWELL: Is it intended that the powers of this Commission should extend so far as to deal with the Customs duties?

Lord E. FITZMAURICE: No.

In reply to Mr. BOURKE,

Lord E. FITZMAURICE said the promise he had previously given as to submitting the question to the opinion of the House applied to the treaty between England and Portugal,

but this was quite a fresh matter. This was an international question, and was quite different.

Mr. BOURKE gave notice to ask a question on this subject.

The official communication made by Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice in the House of Commons that the Congo Treaty, although signed by the Governments of England and Portugal, will not be ratified is matter for congratulation to all those interested in the welfare of the African races, as well as to that large class who have commercial interests in that part of the world.

Our readers will remember that the Anti-Slavery Society has not only taken a very prominent part in opposing the Treaty with Portugal, but was almost the first public body to enter a protest against handing over the mouth of the Congo and a large portion of the interior of Africa to the control of that power.

On the 9th of March, 1883, a short but urgent memorial was addressed to Lord Granville by the Anti-Slavery Society, concluding with the following paragraph:—

"The Committee would therefore earnestly entreat Her Majesty's Government to recognise no exclusive rights on the part of Portugal, or of any other nation on this river, but that it will, in concert with other Powers, whose commercial interests are involved, secure its free navigation, as being demanded alike by the commercial interests of Europe and the welfare of Africa."

The free navigation here spoken of, we are glad to say, appears likely to form the basis of an International Treaty.

The efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society were not confined to the mere sending in a protest to the

Foreign Office, but have been continued during the last sixteen months, with scarcely any intermission, and in conjunction with Chambers of Commerce the Society was mainly instrumental in raising an important debate in the House of Commons in April last year.

In May last a second memorial from the Anti-Slavery Society, containing voluminous documents in proof that Slavery virtually existed in the Portuguese territories of Western Africa, was forwarded to Earl Granville. In its reply to this memorial (Blue Book, Africa 5, 1884, page 54) the Foreign Office endeavoured to prove that the contract labour carried on by Portugal was different from the Slave-trade, and ought not to stand in the way of a ratification of the treaty.

Convinced as we are that the Indenture system for Africans, both on the western and eastern coast of Africa, differs from Slavery only in name, we cannot but feel great satisfaction that the logic of facts has in this instance proved too strong for the mere logic of argument, and that the obnoxious Treaty will now be relegated to that limbo, from which we trust it may never again be withdrawn.

We cannot conclude without stating that the thanks of the Anti-Slavery Society and of the public generally are due to Mr. James Long, M.A., the member of the Committee, to whom was specially deputed the carrying out of the views of the Society in opposition to the Congo Treaty. Mr. Long's great experience and influence with Chambers of Commerce and other public

bodies, and also his relations with the Belgian International Commission, peculiarly fitted him for the conduct of this important work.

Review.

THE CONGO TREATY.

IN the current number of the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr. W. C. CARTWRIGHT, M.P. publishes an article on the Congo Treaty. It has been already stated in another page that the Treaty signed by England and Portugal has been withdrawn. We need not devote much time to the singularly partisan article written by Mr. CARTWRIGHT. To us it appears to be full of mistakes which have already been refuted. As Mr. CARTWRIGHT goes out of his way to attack both the Anti-Slavery Society and the Baptist Missionary Society, we must say a few words explaining the action taken by the former body, our friends the Baptists being perfectly well able to defend themselves. The article commences by stating that two "peculiar forces combine in setting their faces against any compact implying recognition of Portuguese sovereignty in this African region." After describing one of these "peculiar" forces represented by the Chambers of Commerce, Mr. CARTWRIGHT continues as follows:—

"The sentimental forces, acting in co-operation with these mercantile interests, are supplied partly by the Anti-Slavery Association, whose members have inherited from olden days a distrust of Portugal, and partly by the religious prejudices entertained by an active and influential missionary body in this country against the presence of a jurisdiction wielded by a Roman Catholic power."

The two documents forwarded to LORD GRANVILLE by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY are subjected to severe criticism, and the statement that although "Slavery does not exist *de jure* or under the conditions which are commonly attached to the word, yet *de facto* it exists under the appellation of *engagement libre*," is dismissed with the curt remark that it is only a system of indenture akin to that of Coolie labour.

This is exactly what the Society maintains, for Coolie labour, under Portuguese rule, is certainly not better than that lately carried on by the French in Réunion, which was so atrocious, that on the action taken by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and the ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY and others, LORD HARTINGTON peremptorily stopped the exportation of Coolies from India to that island.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT, although he states that the ticketed indentured Africans, taken to the Portuguese islands of St. Thomas and Prince's, are only engaged for four years fails to show that any of these expatriated negroes ever return to their homes. The information received by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY would tend to show that few, if any, of these poor creatures ever leave the islands to which they have been exported.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT considers it strange that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY should omit all reference to the East African Slave-trade, forgetting or unaware that this subject formed the matter for a strong Memorial to EARL GRANVILLE in December, 1881.

In that letter the Society urged that even if Portugal were willing to enforce the suppression of the Slave-

trade in the territories over which she claimed to rule on the Mozambique coast, she is powerless to do so. The Committee protested against any further territorial extension by Portugal in the East of Africa, just as they have since protested against the same extension on the West Coast. In addressing Her Majesty's Government, the Society usually confines its action to one subject at a time, but our readers will see that Mr. CARTWRIGHT's accusation is perfectly unjust and unfounded. Considering the intimate acquaintance shown by Mr. CARTWRIGHT with the arguments lately used by the Foreign Office in support of the Congo Treaty, we are rather surprised that he was not better informed as to what had taken place in previous years and in other portions of the Portuguese dominions.

COOLIE IMMIGRATION INTO JAMAICA.

A DEPUTATION from the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY waited upon LORD DERBY at the COLONIAL OFFICE, on the 3rd inst., with reference to the recommendation of the ROYAL COMMISSIONERS to renew the system of COOLIE IMMIGRATION into JAMAICA (C. 3840). The following MEMORIAL presented by the DEPUTATION to LORD DERBY sufficiently explains the views of the SOCIETY on this subject.

The REV. HENRY CLARKE, who has resided for 37 years in the Island, accompanied the DEPUTATION and explained the views held by himself and most of the inhabitants of the Island, as to the pernicious results of this system.

MR. ARTHUR PEASE, M.P., and MR. JAMES CROPPER, M.P., introduced the DEPUTATION and supported the prayer of the MEMORIAL.

LORD DERBY replied at some length, and made many enquiries as to the points raised. Without committing the GOVERNMENT to any special action, his Lordship declared that nothing had yet been done in the matter, and that no steps would be taken towards carrying out the recommendations of the COMMISSIONERS as to Coolie Immigration without due deliberation.

We believe that the more this matter is looked into the more evident does it become that any such immigration of *forced* labour is an injustice to the black man, an unwarrantable tax upon the whole Island, for the benefit of a very small privileged class, and is utterly opposed to all true principles of political economy.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G.,
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have seen with much regret that the Report of the recent Royal Commission on Jamaica recommends a renewal of the system of importing coerced Coolie labour, partly at the public expense, for the private and exclusive use of certain owners of sugar estates in that island.

The Committee have, from time to time, addressed your Lordship's predecessors against the system of Coolie Immigration in Jamaica. In 1877 they made an urgent appeal to Lord Carnarvon on the evils which the system had entailed upon the island. The "Immigration Fund" was then hopelessly insolvent, with an accumulated debt of £150,000. In reference to this they observed in their memorial, "They would only be too glad were they

able to indicate any plan by which the hopeless debt which has accumulated without inflicting further injustice on the peasantry of the island. Any such solution they fear is now impossible; and under the supreme necessity of bringing the present state of things to an end, as in other cases of insolvent estates, the wrong done may have to be borne in order to effect it."

Lord Carnarvon saw clearly that such was the necessity of the case, and adopting the conclusion, wrote in a despatch to Sir Anthony Musgrave, "that with an ultimate view to the *discontinuance of assisted Immigration*, the planters should be permanently relieved of their present public liabilities."

But in the Government thus assuming their debt—a debt both legally and justly due by the estates receiving the Coolies—it cannot be too strongly borne in mind that it has but imposed the burden on the working population of the island. When, therefore, the Commissioners propose to add to this burden one third of the cost of a future importation of Coolies, the Committee are compelled to enter their strongest protest against such a reversal of the policy deliberately adopted by her Majesty's Government.

But apart from financial considerations, the Committee must renew their protest against this system of forced labour as differing from Slavery in little else but the name.

The term "Immigration" is misleading, as it is really an indentured contract for ten years, at the end of which term the Coolie has a right to a free passage home—though, as a matter of fact, the numbers returning are not very large. At the end of their term of servitude they take advantage of the bounty money of £12 each out of the public revenue offered to all those who remain, with the result that much of the retail huckster trade of the island has fallen into their hands, to the detriment of the native population. The Coolies being aliens in language, religion, and race, can never form any permanent addition to the population, even if their presence were desirable.

During the period of their servitude they are allotted to a planter, for whom they are compelled to work on pain of being sent to prison, whether it is their wish or their advantage to work for him or not.

The Royal Commissioners have repeated the oft-refuted assertion that Coolies are necessary, because negroes will seldom work more than three or four hours a day for four days a week. The injustice of this charge was ably shown in a paper read at the Royal Colonial Institute by Sir Anthony Musgrave a few years ago. Even were this assertion true it could only apply to less than one-half of the 198 sugar estates now in operation, as the rest are cultivated exclusively by negro labour. It is, moreover, contradicted by the fact that there are more than 5,000 small cane mills and sugar boilers erected, under the greatest difficulties, entirely by native labourers, who supply from them the whole of the sugar consumed in the island, besides selling large quantities to merchants for exportation.

The Committee think the time has come when these one-sided statements, so prejudicial to the negro population of Jamaica, should cease to be put forward in order to influence the Government, and to be made the ground for class legislation to their detriment. If it were as true as it is untrue that negroes will not work for fair wages, even that would not justify attempts on the part of the Government to compel them to work for sugar planters, against their will, or to force them to pay wholly or in part for importing Coolies whom the planters can coerce to labour.

The Committee would observe that the proprietors of estates grow sugar for their own private gains; that they are specially exempted from taxation, and, if absentees, they contribute nothing personally to the revenue. The average amount of sugar they produce is about 33,000 hogsheads, and they could not produce more with their present works if they had double the number of labourers, as they have to keep their mills going night and day for nearly six months to take off even that crop. They cannot employ more than 33,000 labourers at a shilling a day the year through. They pay on each estate one overseer £150, and two or three book-keepers from £25 to £60 per annum, all of them liable to be discharged without a moment's notice. The Committee would therefore urge that this industry is not of sufficient importance to justify any contribution for its maintenance from the general population, which now numbers nearly 600,000.

If the efforts of the 5,000 native sugar planters were encouraged by affording them facilities for manufacturing their sugar at central factories, it is reasonable to expect that when thus reaping the fruit of their own labour, they would soon produce more sugar than Jamaica ever yielded in the palmiest days of Slavery.

At the present moment, however, the Committee ask only that all the special laws permitting the holding of agricultural labourers coerced to labour for long periods shall be repealed, and that labourers of every class shall come under the operation of the ordinary Masters and Servants Act. Jamaica is at least nominally a free country, and a system of forced labour, which would not be tolerated for a moment in England, ought not to be tolerated in any of her Colonies.

On behalf of the Anti-Slavery Committee,

We are, with much respect,

EDMUND STURGE, *Chairman*.

CHARLES H. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

55, New Broad-street, London, E.C.,

July 3rd, 1884.

MEMORANDUM ON THE UNFAIR INCIDENCE OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF TAXATION IN JAMAICA.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have seen with regret that the ROYAL COMMISSION has proposed a very inadequate measure of reform in what they have long considered a most unjust apportionment of the incidence of taxation in JAMAICA.

From the figures furnished by the COMMISSIONERS, it appears that allowing five to each family, there is paid on the average by every family in JAMAICA not less than seventeen shillings per annum, under the present high scale of duties on salt fish, bread-stuffs, and other necessities of life.

It is submitted that the very partial remission of these taxes which the COMMISSIONERS now propose does not meet the justice of the case, and this, moreover, is open to the objection common to all partial remissions of duties—that their benefit is apt to be intercepted by the dealer, and not to reach the consumer. If the total repeal of these duties be not conceded, a five per cent. duty on these commodities, as a contribution to the charges of the CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT, is all that should be required.

On the other hand, the COMMITTEE would submit that even under the new scale proposed by the COMMISSIONERS, landed property in JAMAICA will be very far from bearing its fair share in the general taxation. It is not very obvious why land which has been brought into culture, and whose occupation involves other elements for taxation, should be taxed at a higher rate than woodlands and other lands described by the COMMISSIONERS as "valuable adjuncts to the estates," but on which neither capital nor labour is, nor has been expended. Were a uniform tax of one shilling per acre levied on all the lands of JAMAICA it would not be unjust, for if not worth to the owner so small an amount as a quit rent, such land, by reverting to the Crown, would become available for purchase or occupation by those who are now excluded from its possession.

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

July 1st, 1884.

Copy of the above was handed to
LORD DERBY by the DEPUTATION.

SLAVE CARAVANS.

THE Rev. W. P. Johnson, lately returned from Lake Nyassa, thus describes the action of Slave caravans on the people of Africa.

"Then there were the Slave caravans, of which Bishop Steere had truly said there was no vice which they did not teach, and the real horrors of which the decencies of English society would not allow him to do more than hint at. When he said that he knew of wives torn from their husbands, married to no less than six different men on the journey, and finally sold as concubines when they reached the coast, he had but touched the fringe of the deadliest influence of caravan life on the country, conducted as Slave caravans now were. He had had perforce to travel with a Slave caravan, and had seen that of which he spoke. Yet these caravans were to Africa what railways, steamboats, and canals are to England, and under Christian influence might at last be purified."

The efforts of the Universities' Mission to place a steamer on Lake Nyassa are most praiseworthy, and deserve the support of the public. The power to move about on the lake independent of any caravan would have a vast effect in civilising the tribes.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND THE SOUDAN.

To the Editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

SIR,—It is only by the extinction of the export trade in Slaves from the East Coast of Africa that the Soudan War can be stopped. As long as this vent exists the Arabs will carry on a flourishing trade.

There is no doubt a very large increase in the shipments of powder, arms, &c., from this port to the Portuguese Colonies in Africa.

Most respectfully yours,

WILLIAM CARSON.

Seacombe, Liverpool,
25th April, 1884.

COOLIE IMMIGRATION TO JAMAICA.

(MEMO. BY REV. HENRY CLARKE, OF JAMAICA.)

THE system of immigration began immediately after emancipation, and was designed to render the planters less dependent on free labour.

Their first attempt was to introduce white labourers from Europe. Up to 1844 they had imported 6,000 at a cost to the public revenue of £128,271. These persons, being unaccustomed to the climate and the work, succumbed to drink and disease, and soon disappeared.

In 1844 5,000 Coolies were imported at a cost of £83,703 of public money. The official account says: "The scheme was an utter failure. The weaker portion of the immigrants fell into ill-health and, becoming incapable of labour, took to begging, and thus eked out a miserable existence, living on alms and travelling from one place to another, so that the whole country was covered with beggars, many of whom were suffering from loathsome ulcers. The parochial institutions for the relief of the poor became overcrowded, and the parochial funds were unable to bear the extra strain on them."

No more Coolies were imported until, in 1859, the Assembly passed a measure for renewing Coolie immigration—the funds to be raised by a contribution of £1 per head for five years from the employer for each Coolie allotted to him, by a tax on exports, and by a loan on the public credit of £150,000 by three instalments. Between 1860 and 1863 nearly 5,000 Coolies were brought in, but as no hospitals had been provided for them, they were left to wander about the streets as soon as they fell sick, and the horrible scenes of 1846-7 were renewed. From 1863 to 1868 no more Coolies were introduced.

In 1868 Sir J. P. Grant revived the then existing enactments, but made better provision for the Coolies by providing hospitals for the sick and by compelling the planters to pay them at the rate of one shilling a day for men, and ninepence a day for women. The period of their indentured service was fixed at five years, and at the end of ten years they could claim a return passage at the cost of the Immigration Fund, or if they elected to remain in the country they received a bonus of £12 each from the public revenue. Up to December, 1872, out of 15,652 Coolies introduced since 1845, only 3,167 applied for return passages. Under this new arrangement, between the years 1869 and 1876 there were 9,713 Coolies introduced. It was then found that the Immigration fund was hopelessly insolvent, and that there was no money either for the current expenses, or for repaying the £150,000 which had been borrowed on the public credit.

In 1877, Lord Carnarvon proposed, and the Anti-Slavery Society and other opponents of Immigration agreed that, "*with a view to the discontinuance of assisted immigration*," the planters should be relieved of their present public liabilities, and that the public should in future pay the hospital expenses, amounting to £11,000 a year, and should also pay the £12 a head in lieu of return passage, but that all other expenses were to be paid by the planters, and by the export duty on sugar and rum.

Under this arrangement the public took over the planters' liabilities to the amount of nearly £250,000, as stated by Sir A. Musgrave to Sir M. Hicks-Beach (see "Immigration Blue-Book" of August, 1879, page 67). That is, the negro labourers, who are the real taxpayers, were made to pay this vast amount as a present to the few wealthy proprietors of estates.

After receiving this gift the West India Body and their agents in Jamaica ignored the condition on which it was granted, namely, the *discontinuance* of the system, and raised strenuous opposition to the measure which Sir Anthony Musgrave proposed for carrying it out. The history of this controversy is contained in the "Blue-Book" of 1879. It ended in the planters carrying their point that their direct contribution should never be more than £15 a head by five annual instalments, but as the total cost of bringing a Coolie, providing him with hospital accommodation, and returning him to India, is £56 14s. 6½d. (see "Blue-Book," page 14), it is evident that even under this arrangement the taxpayers are paying the bulk of the cost.

The total number of Coolies imported since 1845 is 23,309, which, at £56 a head, would amount to £1,305,304. Of this the employers paid only the capitation fees, which under the old regulation, could never be more than £5 a head, and, under the new regulation, £15 per head. The balance was paid out of the public Treasury, and by the export duty. But the planters have no more right to claim the export duty for their private purposes, than the merchants have to claim the import duty. For this vast cost incurred by the people of Jamaica on their behalf, the planters have not produced one single extra hogshead of sugar. Their production still stands at the same amount as it did forty years ago.

In 1884, the Royal Commissioners who visited Jamaica in 1883 *have recommended a continuance of this system as essential to the prosperity of Jamaica!*

HENRY CLARKE

June 27th, 1884.

P.S.—From 1878 to 1881 the Coolies imported were 1,418. There were none imported in 1882. I do not know if there were any in 1883.

MOROCCO.

THE following letters published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 23rd of June fully bear out the article written by the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in May last.

To the EDITOR of the PALL MALL GAZETTE.

Sir,—I have just read in your paper of the 16th inst. "The Trouble in Morocco." As an old resident in that country, I entirely concur with the opinion of Mr. Curtis, and I hope for the sake of the people and the residents that this true account of the state of things will attract public attention in England and prove beneficial to Morocco. Now that the Moors are becoming more civilised they become less amenable to native authority; the progress of civilisation is becoming too far advanced in Morocco for it to be possible for the Sultan to stand against it; and the natives not only know this, but are beginning to recognise that their welfare is, if possible, most concerned in the settlement and occupation of the country, and the old traditions which urged them to keep their districts closed against the Europeans are losing their hold upon them. The tendency of the times is shown by the events which have lately taken place, and the negotiations still going on between France and Morocco. Thus there is a marked change in the tone and temper of the natives; and although within a few years the whole interior of the country was closed, and could not be entered with safety, now anyone can penetrate to the very heart, and cross the country from end to end, and Morocco is now open to European enterprise. Let us hope that the barriers between

Europeans and Moors will now once and for all remain removed, and that, thanks to France, the spread of civilisation on territory which has hitherto been isolated will proceed with rapid strides and on equitable principles. I have said thanks to France, for it is entirely owing to that Power that Morocco can hope to rank some day among civilised nations, notwithstanding all the impediments placed in its way by the "doyen" of the Diplomatic Body, who has thereby deprived his country and his countrymen of all the advantages it was so easy to secure for them. Ignorance cannot be pleaded; both residents and travellers have repeatedly expressed their opinion at proper quarters against their representative. To the unpopularity of Sir John Hay is due the loss of British influence in Morocco, although undoubtedly the sympathies of the Moors, from the Sultan downwards, were English.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

D. SEAGER.

42, Finsbury-pavement, E.C., June 18.

To the EDITOR of the PALL MALL GAZETTE.

Sir,—I have read the remarks of Mr. Curtis upon Morocco, and can fully confirm everything therein stated. Sir John Hay is part and parcel of the machine at the Court of the Emperor, and should long ago have been removed to some other place, or have been made to retire years since. No Englishman who knows the place thinks of applying to the English Consulate for any small favour or for any information he may require. What a splendid country to open within five days of England!—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ONE WHO HAS LIVED IN MOROCCO.

June 18

PRISONS IN EGYPT.

THE descriptions given of the prisons in Morocco by the Rev. NEWMAN HALL, Mr. C. H. ALLEN, and other witnesses, of Moorish barbarity, might apply equally well to the prisons of Egypt. There is a terrible similarity in the cruelties inflicted upon the defenceless people by unprincipled rulers in all Eastern countries.

The letter written by Mr. CLIFFORD LLOYD to the *Times* of June 30 should be carefully studied, as it exposes the flagrant misgovernment carried on by the Turkish Mudirs in almost all the provinces of Egypt. Mudirs are scarcely ever native Egyptians. We can only give a very few extracts.

THE MUDIRS.

"The Mudirs, with rare, if any, exceptions, were members of the Turkish ruling class, between whom and the native population there is not an interest or sympathy in common. Mudirs were appointed not upon their qualifications, but in accordance with the amount of interest at their command. The Minister of the Interior knew as much of what was going on in the country as the Mudirs wished him to know, and no more. No regular reports were received and no returns of any kind were sent in. I am writing, not of finance, but of administration. So absolute was the direct and indirect power of the Mudir that no one dared to personally complain against him. The position of Mudir was much sought after, not only on account of the local *status* it gave, but also on account of the facilities it provided for rapidly accumulating wealth. As a matter of fact, the Minister was completely ignorant of all that went on in the provinces. How could it have been otherwise? The staff at the Home Office consisted of a Minister and Under-Secretary. The Minister never read a report or a letter and never put his pen to paper; while the Under-Secretary was an old gentleman of nearly 80 years of age, with upwards

of 55 years' service. There was no Police department under the Minister."

* * * * *

"Every village or group of small villages had a headman or 'sheikh,' who, in consideration of public duties performed, was free from certain taxation and from personal liability to forced labour. He was obliged to maintain at his own expense a staff of village watchmen or 'gaffirs,' and it is not difficult to imagine how much oppression and extortion this system gave opportunity for when exempt from all supervision or check. The Mudir was surrounded by a staff of *Préfets*, *Sous-préfets*, Turkish cavasses (or orderlies), Slaves and others, who went to make up the "Police force" found existing in Egypt last September. These last were the persons who made the arrest of those upon whom the Mudir rightly or wrongly desired to seize, while the kourbash and the thumbscrew, with such other torture as his satellites could devise, produced whatever confessions were deemed essential to his purpose. And this is the system the Mudirs in a body seriously asked me, in writing to return to, while an English army of 8,000 men protected them from the results of their inhumanity and tyranny. I would prefer to be the unfortunate fellah, who to my knowledge died under his 300 lashes sooner than sign the so-called confession put before him, rather than the Englishman who would sit in power at the Ministry of the Interior at Cairo and tolerate for twenty-four hours longer than possible the continuation of such a system, and of proceedings such as I became aware were daily permitted under its authority."

THE BASTINADO OR KOURBASH.

"The means of punishing prisoners in common use previous to January 1 were the bastinado, the stocks, the indiscriminate application of heavy iron chains, and thumbscrews (kallapse), and the withdrawal of bread and water for twenty-four hours; these cruelties were not only inflicted for punishing unruly prisoners, but in by far the majority of cases to extort false evidence against innocent people, or for backsheesh.

"The bastinado or kourbash was frequently applied. The prisoner was made to lie on the face downwards, and held in that position by a man sitting on his back while another one held his arms; the ankles were then tightly fastened to the middle of a thick stick (naboot)

about 5ft. long, which was twisted round once or twice, and then held well raised above the ground by two men, while a warder, with a rhinoceros hide whip, inflicted as many as 500 blows across the soles of the feet—the prisoner frequently died within a few hours, of collapse, or if he recovered from the immediate effects was unable to walk for weeks after.

"The application of stocks was made more cruel by placing the feet reversed, with the victim lying with his face to the ground; while a not uncommon form of torture, which I certified so recently as eight months ago, was to keep a prisoner standing for hours in the middle of his cell, with a strong iron chain round his neck fastened to a beam overhead; had the prisoner fainted strangulation would have certainly resulted.

"I have been told that I 'went too quickly.' But who in power with any conscience could sit still while such abominable cruelties were being committed during a time when the people considered that Englishmen were ruling the country, or, at least, were responsible for its government? The petitions brought to me, the numerous registered letters I received, and the knowledge of the sufferings the people were undergoing urged me on to apply as soon as possible the measures that would give some security from oppression: some little liberty and justice."

UNTRIED PRISONERS.

"On taking over the prisons under the direct control of the Ministry of the Interior, and exempt from that of the Mudirs, it was found that 1,200 or more than half the prisoners were untried, and it may be said, indeed, that no inquiry into their cases had even been held. The Mudir had no legal power to sentence to any term over ten days, but he evaded this by putting his victims into gaol 'pending trial;' and under this head numerous persons were found who had been confined for terms varying up to six years and nine months for thefts and other such cases. Witnesses as well as the accused were alike confined. A girl who had been raped was found, having been in prison for two years as well as the offender. A village had been attacked by brigands and some cattle carried off. Some of the villagers had turned out and recovered the cattle, arresting some of the brigands. All were alike in gaol. Two women were found in the Cairo prison, on the order of a Minister, to be retained for life as 'bad characters.' A man was found

in a cell being literally starved to death for having, it was stated, written anonymous letters to high persons. Such was the state in which we found the gaols, and such were the sufferings endured by the people within them. These gaols were entirely and completely under the control of the Mudir of the province, who imprisoned whoever and as many as he liked without an order in writing and without ever any charges being made known to the sufferers. When they paid sufficiently he let them out; when they did not, he kept them in 'pour encourager les autres.'"

GORDON AND ZEBEHR.

In an article in the *Contemporary Review* of June last occur the following remarks respecting Zebehr, which agree entirely with the memorial forwarded by the Anti-Slavery Society to Earl Granville, protesting against Zebehr being sent to the Soudan. The article bears internal evidence of being written by some one closely connected with General Gordon:—

"A. What was Gordon to do in the circumstances? He said, 'Send Zebehr.' He knows Zebehr is the greatest scoundrel on the face of the earth. But still he could govern them. It would be better than no government. He would not go on with the Slave-trade. If he could squeeze a couple of hundred thousand a year out of the people—and he would be able to do that—he would not require to resort to the Slave-trade. It would not be worth his while. He would not bother himself with the Slave-trade if he were king of that magnificent province. You know seven-eighths of the population of the Soudan are Slaves. If you want to stop the Slave-trade you must stop it at Cairo, and it home to the parties who buy Slaves.

"Q. How do you reconcile General Gordon's proposal to send for Zebehr with the blood feud and the quarrel he had with him bring the night before he left Cairo?

"A. There was a quarrel, and it came to very hot words. Zebehr challenged General

Gordon to produce anything against him. General Gordon did not attack him, not wishing to go on quarrelling; but there is no doubt about Zebehr's guilt—the documents which prove it are all in existence. He was sentenced to be hung and his son was shot, not for Slave-hunting, but for complicity in massacring the Khedive's troops. General Gordon is so willing to forgive everybody that he thinks everybody will forgive him. He is mistaken in Zebehr, who has threatened to hang him. I have no doubt that if we had sent Zebehr up to Khartoum, the first thing he would have done would have been to hang General Gordon. I believe Zebehr is at the bottom of this whole revolt between Berber and Khartoum. Zebehr ought to be put into confinement at once.

"Q. Then that was the reason why our Government would not consent to send Zebehr?

"A. They were quite right. The only complaint against them is that they won't arrange for a Government.

"Q. You do not think General Gordon is in any personal danger or apprehension?

"A. Certainly not, unless possibly from internal dissensions. He writes on March 15—that is not so very long ago:—'We are all in capital spirits here; the enemy are entrenched nine miles off, six thousand strong, and we hear the drums from the palace. Supplies come in better than ever, and we have food for months. When the Nile rises in two months' time, in the middle of May, we shall with the steamers be even more powerful than we are now.' What does that show? 'You must not expect many more letters, since it is not likely that the rebels will allow my posts to go down.' He does not show any alarm at all.

"Q. What do you say about the alarming telegrams?

"A. I cannot think they are his. On April 9 what did General Gordon say? 'All going on well.' When did he ask for soldiers? He ask for soldiers! He wanted two squadrons of cavalry—because he thought it could be done, merely for a diversion. The only thing General Gordon says is, 'You must listen to Power for giving you all the news.' He alluded to Power's description of the conflict when the two Pashas were traitors.

"Q. Your point is that General Gordon is in no apprehension as to his personal safety?

"A. He under apprehension! Not the slightest. Talk of danger! Look at the story in Hill's work about Kotokal, and when he marched into the camp of Slave-dealers at Shakka. That was danger.

"Q. What he is anxious for there is to provide a Government for the people?

"A. That is the only question, and has been the only question all along. If he could issue a proclamation and say, 'I will remain with you and I will form a Government,' all would be well. I should not be the least surprised to see the veil lifted between Khartoum and Berber by a telegram coming from Gordon: 'We are all right, I have formed a Government, and have put the Mahdi in charge of Khartoum.' He does not care if he saves the people's lives and leaves a Government. He considers he has been abandoned because you won't tell him what to do. He wants to save the people's lives. How is he to do it?"

THE INLAND LAKES OF AFRICA.

MR. J. STEVENSON, of Glasgow, could not but have been impressed with a feeling of satisfaction and gratitude, when he read the following description of the splendid highway which his munificent generosity has been the means of creating in Central Africa.

The fever-stricken missionaries and traders must bless the name of him who, like his great namesake, George Stephenson, has shown the way in which nature may be subdued, and her morasses, mountains, and rivers made passable for the foot of man.

Professor Drummond says: "So far, I am greatly impressed with the immense advantage of the Lakes route to the interior. Instead of a sickening and monotonous march of three months, to which so many have succumbed before their work was begun

missionaries can now reach Tanganyika by a way as varied and pleasant as it is healthy. Although this is the hottest time of the year, there is nearly always a cool fresh breeze. The mosquito is unknown, and one is glad of a couple of quilts at night, in addition to flannels. I was much astonished near Malilandee by the apparition of a white man coming with a small caravan from the direction in which I was going. He proved to be the Rev. Henry Griffith, of the London Missionary Society, returning home from his station on Lake Tanganyika. This is, I suppose, the first *bona fide* passenger by the new route. He is quite enthusiastic in its praise, and expressed himself greatly improved in physique by his walk over the highlands. It seems to me that if the company had done no more than open this new route, much has been achieved for Africa. The Awiwa country is quite untouched as yet, with a language of its own. This may possibly have a claim to be considered in mission extensions. I was visited by four or five of the Awiwa chiefs, and found them extremely friendly. They gave me oxen, other products, &c. They are dressed exclusively in skins, and live all the year round on the mawere, a species of millet." . . . —From *Africa*, edited by Rev. J. E. CARLYLE.

DOMESTIC SLAVERY IN INDIA.

DEAR SIR,—I never thought I should be obliged to contradict any statement of one for whom I have such great respect and sympathy as yourself, but I cannot but demur to the assertion in the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER of the 16th of June, 1884—that "*domestic Slavery has almost disappeared*" in India. Much has undoubtedly been done, but much remains to be done. There are Slaves in almost every rich Mohammedan family—too ignorant and too helpless to claim the protection of the law.

Allow me to give you two extracts from "Storms and Sunshine of a Soldier's Life."

Vol. ii. p. 206 :—

"Although Slavery is supposed to be abolished in India, it practically exists, and always will exist among the followers of the false prophet. A Mohammedan can marry only four wives; but he may have as many female Slaves as he pleases, whom he *cannot* marry, but whose children may inherit. Mr.

Octavius Toogood, the Magistrate of Monghyr, discovered in April 1858 that the Kazi of the District habitually registers in the Judge's Court deeds for the lease of girls for ninety years. One Mohammedan sold his daughter Chand, aged seven, to a woman named Massamat Amiran for twelve rupees eight annas (twenty-five shillings)—her children to belong to Amiran for ever! All admit it and say it is always done. The Kazi (brother of the Principal Sadr Amin, or Judge of the same Station) says that deeds of *sale* are forbidden in the Koran, but not leases! But in general the law is not even evaded; it is simply set at naught.

"At every festival or show the people flock to see the sight, and as the men often cannot leave their work, the women and children are put under charge of some village elder. Rich Mohammedans have agents on the look-out for those that are good-looking; the guardian receives a bribe of a few rupees, reports on his return that the young woman or girl has died of fever or cholera, and no more is heard of the matter. So helpless and so apathetic are the people that the Diwan of Moorshedabad says a man is sometimes seen gathering up 'a bunch of young girls, leading four or five in one hand as if they were chickens.' These women are never suffered to leave the zenana (female apartments), and are often cruelly treated. Some years ago two young girls in the service of the Dulin Begum (the chief lady of the Nazim's family) scaled a high wall, dropped down on the other side, and laid a petition before Major MacGregor, Governor-General's Agent at Moorshedabad. He at once requested the Diwan (or minister) to go in his name to the residence of Her Highness the Dulin Begum, and inquire personally of the women if they wished to leave or to stay. About eighteen of them fell at his feet, and implored him to let them go. Some brought food all mouldy and bad, and showed him how they were fed. Others rejected the offer of large pensions to induce them to remain. Two even left their children in order to return to their own villages. There were some who wept most bitterly and begged to be released, but the Eunuchs managed to conceal them." (Diwan's report to the Agent-Governor-General, 3rd October, 1855.)

In 1858, when my husband, General Colin Mackenzie, had succeeded Major MacGregor as Agent-Governor-General, about forty women in the Názim's own establishment insisted on leaving the Palace and getting respectably married. This was an unheard-of demand, and the Názim knew not what to do. A few years back the poor girls would have been soundly beaten by the Eunuchs, but now the Diwan, certain of Brigadier Mackenzie's support, represented to the Názim that India was a free country, and if they chose to go no one had any right to detain them. He never left the palace until every one of the forty had taken her departure. It seems as if the Názim never forgave what he considered interference in his household affairs.

Lunatic asylums, convents and zenanas ought all to be subject to inspection in order to protect those who are immured in them. There could be no difficulty if this were done by women of unimpeachable character.

About July 1860 there was more than one complaint laid before the Magistrate against the Názim's mother for purchasing children. . . . A little girl was carried off from her parents while Brigadier Mackenzie was laid up by severe illness. "Innumerable letters were written by the Agent-Governor-General to the Názim and others, and at length the poor child was recovered and her friends were too glad to get her back to prosecute the matter any farther. The Diwan (a Hindu), who had a great sense of justice, was very anxious that some steps should be taken to check the sale of girls, and the Agent brought the subject both officially and privately before Government, recommending that the female apartments should be visited by women of character and position, to ascertain of each inmate separately whether she wished to stay or go, but his letter was *never answered*. When I heard of these things it struck me that whenever I went to pay a visit to the Ladies of the Nizam, all the female attendants, water-carriers, &c., &c., who stood in rows as I passed, were kept at a distance from me by Abyssinians."—Vol. ii., p. 259.

An officer lately returned from Afghanistan wrote to me the other day with reference to the above passages:—"Until I read your book I never saw any mention of what *I know* goes on all over India—the sale of women. I

saw about thirty women whom we rescued from some Afghans at Kohát. They were Cashmiris, Hindustanis, and others. The Afghans were taking them about the country, selling them, when we found it out, and the Police were ordered to pass them to their respective homes, but very few ever got there."

I hope, Sir, that you will receive this statement of difference as to facts as a proof of true sympathy as to views and aims.

Very faithfully yours,

HELEN C. MACKENZIE.

12, Argyll Road, Kensington, W.

21st June, 1884.

Editor of ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

We are very grateful to Mrs. Colin Mackenzie for this most interesting and painful letter. The facts she details are very startling. Cannot something be done to have an official inspection of the Zenanas of India by duly qualified *English* lady officials? There is a fine field in India for some of our energetic ladies in search of an occupation, more especially for qualified lady doctors.

GEORGE FOX AND SLAVERY.

In the interesting "Life of George Fox," by A. C. Bickley (Hodder and Stoughton, 1884), the following notice of the action of the "Quakers" with regard to Slavery occurs. Fox did not approve of Slavery, and gave some wise advice to his co-religionists on the subject of holding their fellow men in bondage:—

"Friends in the West Indies continued to keep Slaves; and though they always treated them infinitely more kindly than did masters holding other creeds, they did not as a general rule liberate them at the end of a fixed and certain time."

"Nevertheless, it is perhaps the proudest boast of the Society of Friends that it was the first religious body to declare Slavery to be immoral and anti-Christian, and to work constantly and consistently for its abolition; in fact, it is hardly too much to affirm that it was by the persistent efforts of the Quakers that both the English and the American nations were first awakened to the utter iniquity of permitting a practice so vicious and demoralising as Slave-holding to continue within their territories, and at a very considerable cost to insist on its entire and immediate prohibition.

"After Fox had left the shores of the New World, which he did in 1673, he did not allow his interest in this important subject to cool, and in the epistles he wrote to the Friends he had left behind him, the treatment of negroes is frequently mentioned. * * *

"The Quakers were not long in taking up the matter in earnest. As early as 1688 the Grahamstown Friends sent a protest against Slavery to the yearly meeting in Philadelphia; from that time till the action of the Federal States put a welcome end to their labours, the American Quakers never ceased to struggle for the glorious cause of universal freedom, and it is but right to mention that after this happy event had happened their interest in the emancipated negroes did not diminish, for they made extraordinary efforts to provide for the sufficient education of the recently liberated Slaves.

"In 1727, the London yearly meeting formally denounced Slavery, and from this time until its entire abolition in England and America, the Society constantly agitated for this purpose."

NOTE.—For many years the Anti-Slavery Society has been mainly supported by Quakers, and had it not been for their aid its labours would long since have ceased, from want of that pecuniary assistance without which it could not have carried on its work—much of which consists in printing and circulating information respecting Slavery in various parts of the world.—ED. *Reporter*.

BRAZIL.

ANTI-SLAVERY NOTES.

WE cull the following items from the columns of our esteemed contemporary, the *Rio News*, dated June 5th. The first of these paragraphs is peculiarly interesting, as we doubt not that the efforts of our corresponding member, the Rev. E. Vanorden, have done much towards bringing about this progressive movement in Rio Grande do Sul.

The abolition movement in Rio Grande do Sul is apparently gaining strength every day.

The boatmen of Manáos have also decided not to land or embark Slaves at that port.

The president of the province of Pará has notified the police authorities that they must not arrest Slaves at the request of their owners, and that the police are for the suppression of crime, not for the purpose of Slave catching.

The planters of Valença, province of Rio de Janeiro, finally organised their anti-abolition club on the 24th ult. Nothing was done in the matter of reducing *ingenhuos* to Slavery. Of course, all of these gentlemen are heartily in favour of the Rio Branco law!

The *Club Amazonia* of Para, organised for the propaganda of abolition, elected its officers on the 24th April. Conselheiro Tito Franco de Almeida was chosen president; João Diogo Clemente Malcher, vice-president; José Henrique Cordeiro de Castro and Antonio Bernardino Jorge Sobrinho, secretaries; and Joaquim Nunes da Silva Matta, treasurer. At the meeting held on the 1st May, 74 letters of liberty were granted.

The president of the province of Pará on the 8th ult. notified the inspector of the provincial treasury that all Slaves arriving in that province should pay the tax of 1,000 millreis, excepting only those arriving with public functionaries transferred there on service.

GENERAL GORDON.

TELEGRAM.

July 17th, 4 P.M.

As we go to press we receive the following telegram from our corresponding member, Dr. SCHWEINFURTH, of Cairo.

We sincerely trust that the report of the horrors and difficulties here spoken of may have been derived from untrustworthy sources, and that Gordon is still safe.

"Anti-Slavery Society, London. You forget Gordon, whose fate in few weeks will be fulfilled; it is eleventh hour. Under party disputes your noblest citizen's cry for help is suffocated. Horrors related of his sufferings unexampled. Hopelessly abandoned. Defence of his house against increasing numbers is desperate. Appeal in this supreme moment to whole nation.

"SCHWEINFURTH."

THE BAPTIST MISSION ON
THE CONGO.

FROM the *Christian World* of June 12th we take the following paragraph, which shows how quickly the withdrawal of the Congo Treaty with Portugal has been productive of good results:—

IMPORTANT CONCESSIONS.

Our readers will be glad to learn that

during the past week very substantial advantages have been secured for the Congo Mission. At the earnest request of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, Mr. A. H. Baynes, the General Secretary of the Mission, has visited Brussels, and been honoured by a prolonged interview with His Majesty the King. As the result of negotiations with His Majesty and the International Association of the Congo, two important agreements have been entered into between the Society and the International Association, by which perpetual tenure of the land at present occupied by the missionaries of the Society at Stanley Pool has been secured, instead of only a seven years' lease. Land also has been secured at a nominal rental in perpetuity at Lukolela, 300 miles towards the interior from Stanley Pool, upon which to form a new station, and other new stations are contemplated in the very heart of the Continent. Our readers are well aware of the Royal generosity of the King, at whose personal expense the International Congo Association has been maintained. It may not be known, however, that one of the great objects contemplated by the International Association is the creation of an independent international State in Equatorial Africa, embracing the entire region of the Congo River, based upon Free Trade principles, and absolute religious freedom to all religious bodies alike, and recognised and guaranteed by the great European powers. In the words of General Strauch, the President of the International Association, it is pre-eminently desirable that the whole territory should be free to the commerce of all nations, with no customs or vexatious export or import duties along the whole line, and with perfect equality, without any distinction of nationality, to all traders alike, provided only that the laws and regulations of the proposed State are respected. Should the establishment of such a State become an accomplished fact, it would doubtless prove the most satisfactory settlement of the Congo question that could possibly be arrived at; for, without giving predominance to any one European power, it would open Equatorial Africa to all the world, and by a European recognition and guarantee would secure equal rights for all nationalities.

Anti-Slavery Jubilee Sund.

The following sums have already been promised, and it is hoped that further amounts may be announced at the meeting to be held on the 1st of August under the Presidency of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (*see enclosed Form*):—

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